846 not resumed until after the first menstrual period following on the birth; the diet was exclusively warm cereal food such as acorn mush, sopas seeds, etc. J.A. said a Choinimni girl, a daughter of Sumtiwas "nearly died" because she ate gooseberries, raw and cold, after having a baby..."she should have waited longer."

852 The baby was named about three or four weeks after birth. The parents gave a "little
553 party" (wičí lonu'iwas) at which food was served to guests who came with gifts. There was no singing or dancing. J.A. does not know who selected the child's name, but believes that names could be chosen among those from either parent's lineage; her daughter Yuki'at is named for her paternal aunt.

854 The infant's first cradle was the soft tule mat (wa'tsas hu'ton). The second cradle (watsas) was the type with forked-stick frame, upon which the child remained until it was able to walk and then sleep on the ground as adults did.

844 A prospective Tachi mother ate no meat, only roasted roots of the flat tule. Delivery took place in the home; afterward the woman lay face downward on a bed of hot ashes. The placenta and cord were put in water. The navel stump was worn on a neck string by the child until it reached puberty. Kroeber states that the Tachi preserve the cord by having the child wear it over its abdomen. Surely the navel stump was meant.

551 The Tachi had different names for men and women, but M.G. could give no rule by which they were distinguished, "You just knew." She said that a girl might be named for her maternal aunt, and a boy for his maternal grandfather. This stressing of the maternal side may be accidental, nevertheless Gifford mentions the bestowal of names by maternal as well as paternal relatives, as follows.

[553] Children were named by old relatives for dead relatives, sometimes for living relatives also. Nicknames were also bestowed and in the course of one's life he might be labeled with five or six appellations. Informants professed to know the meaning of none. If a person's namesake dies, the person goes by one of his other names or else he is renamed. In the case of the young chief Kanti, however, such was not the case. He continued to be known by this name after his namesake (his father) died.

The younger chief Kanti is a good example of a person with a plurality of names. He had two other names applied to him, also in infancy. They were Ha'čau and Wallo'. For none of these names could the informant give meanings. The chief José also had two additional names: Siwulik, bestowed by his father, and Osowoii, bestowed by his father's father.

The woman Yawata was named by her mother's mother in infancy. Motsi was named by her mother.

844 and occasionally a boy's, afterbirth was buried in an anthill: if the insects ate it, the child would be industrious. The Yaudanchi followed this practice (J.W.).

The assistant washed the baby in warm water in a big basket and greased it on the back, chest, and stomach [kind of "grease" not specified]. A bit of red color might be added with the grease on the chest "to keep it from getting [a?] cold." The baby was laid on a layer of shredded willow bark, on a piece of old deerskin, wrapped in a blanket of feathers or rabbitskin, and tied onto its tule mat [553] cradle. It remained in this outfit constantly until it was named, about two weeks later, being taken out only for cleansing purposes.

Meanwhile the mother had removed to the heated pit. It was slightly longer and wider than her body and, when filled with heated rocks, ashes, bark, and mats, left its occupant at ground level. The woman lay face downward on deerskins. She wore no clothing save a belt and old breechclout, the latter loosely filled with shredded willow bark. The belt, opening on this occasion at the back, was tied, and the bark replaced, by the assistant. Deerskins were laid over the woman and for about one day she was surrounded with hot rocks laid on these and, in very cold weather, with a layer of warm ashes as well. More deerskins and rabbitskin blankets were laid over this. However, the upper layer of rocks and ashes was usually omitted. The baby was put with her. It was [853] given warm acorn gruel which it sucked off the mother's or assistant's fingers until the milk appeared. The mother drank warm water for a few days, then warm acorn gruel. She kept on this diet as long as she was on the warm pit.

She left the pit twice a day while it was being renovated and reheated. The length of her stay was, according to M.P., six days "when the baby's navel dropped off"; according to M.L., twelve days, the child's anatomy having nothing to do with it. (Again I feel that M.L.'s opinion is the older and more reliable and agrees with the data from neighboring tribes.)

An alternative to the use of the hot pit, or sometimes used in conjunction with it to discourage hemorrhage, was a steaming of the [314] vaginal tract with an infusion of redwood sap (ṭanal). A lump of this dried pitch was cracked up and dropped in a basket of boiling water. The woman fastened a rabbitskin blanket over her shoulders, and tied one or two deerskins under her belt so they hung from her waist; then she squatted over the steaming basket of medicine. This was said to be done each morning for six days. After the intro- [77] duction of European blankets the steamer surrounded herself and basket with the single large covering.

[P. 1039] Wukchumni

846 The father ate only "soft" food until the navel stump came off; the mother continued her abstinence from meat for three months. She might eat "greens" and any vegetable foods so long as they had no strong flavor or odor; because of its strong taste, fish was not allowed. (M.P.'s grandmother particularly restrained her from eating fish while nursing, as "it went to her breast.") If the mother should eat yellowjacket larvae (tabu because yellowjackets eat meat) the baby would get a sore mouth. The [757] cure for this was to wash the infant's mouth with a mixture of pulverized ša'apuš (unidentified plant) and dried, pulverized yellowjackets.

553 During the first week the baby was called yet no´mč·n, literally "one-seven," i.e., one week, and during the second po´ñoi nomč·n, "two-seven" or two weeks.[238] It was then given a name by its paternal grandfather: if a boy, the grandfather's name [or great grandfather's], if a girl the grandmother's.[239] Names belonged in families; persons who were not kin could not [551] have the same name (M.L.).[240] Wukchumni names were meaningless, said all informants. "If a name meant something it must be a nickname" (M. and J.P.). The grandmother [maternal?] gave the infant its permanent cradle, upon which it slept for one to two years.

846 Three months after delivery the mother was given a ritual cleansing and celebration (wi´ti lonu´was) by her husband's mother. The mother-in-law brought "new clothes" (a deerskin apron if she could afford it), beads, and a "washing" basket and deer meat. She washed the mother's face and hair, combed her hair and put red paint on her face, and hung beads (koikoi) around her neck. Both paternal and maternal aunts were there, having brought large quantities of food with them. Village friends called, both men and women, with gifts for the mother -- beads, a basket, or some trinket -- and were given a present of food in return. The food was "usually eaten right there, though they could take it home if they wanted to." This "reception" continued for two or three days. Thereafter the mother resumed her normal existence, slept with her husband, and ate almost any foods save the "strong" ones.[241]

[805 177]

[238] Probably "one-six" before the introduction of the seven-day week which "came with the Catholics." It is even possible that this designation of age by weeks is of European origin, although the "week," a native concept, is not.

[239] This is an over-simplification, as genealogical evidence shows. The tendency was to carry names through alternate generations, but those so bestowed are few compared to those seemingly chosen at random from the family's stock.

[240] This statement is entirely borne out by genealogical data.

[241] M.P. made a confused statement, which we never got disentangled, to the effect that after the mother's "party" she went home with her mother-in-law who "took care of the baby for her and the mother brought it food sometimes." Perhaps this was in case of birth during the initial period of matrilocal residence?

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P.1346] Chukaimina

846 first three days she steamed herself under blankets. She drank only acorn gruel and hot water for ten days (while on the pit); thereafter she might have solid vegetable foods, but not meat for three months.

The father refrained from meat and solid food ("bread," sic) and from laborious work for ten days.

846 At the end of ten days the mother rose and was washed at a little ceremony called teŏa´taš
●553 ("means not to sleep any more," Mo.). This was done by the infant's paternal grandmother, who also bestowed a name on the baby and brought its second cradle. The name given was always from the father's side: usually a boy received his paternal grandfather's name, a girl a
[854] paternal aunt's. At this time the baby was moved into its second or permanent cradle where it slept until the cradle was outgrown.

846 At the end of three months the mother was given another ceremonial washing by her hus-
[602] band's relatives. The mother-in-law and sisters-in-law washed the woman, arranged her hair, and dressed her in fine new clothes. They brought baskets of food, and the men of the paternal family provided deer meat. A general feast was held at which the mother discontinued her meat tabu. Relatives from both sides of the family were present and partook of the feast; also "any friends who wanted to. Everyone who came brought little presents to the mother."

854 Both cradles were made of twined chaparral brush.[886] The first (bi´·ič) was small, and had a circular band hood. The baby stayed in it
[177] only ten days. The second (aki´l·ič) was the larger one with the fan-shaped hood of Western Mono derivation which has been described elsewhere (cf. Wukchumni). When it was outgrown,
[856] which was normally in eighteen to twenty-four months, it was hung on a young live oak tree so that the child grew as the tree grew. New
[184] cradles were provided for each new baby. Mo. said that the cradle with forked-stick frame was used only by the people of the lake region.

881 With regard to puberty Mo. stated that she knew of no ritual marking a girl's first menses.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

323 Pottery.---All people known to Mo. made pottery. Her own mother and aunt made it and taught her. She described the coiling method
[252] and said the ware was fired about two days.[887] Meat was always cooked in pottery vessels.

524 Women's dice game.---A.M. described the women's dice game (huču ša). The pieces used

[886] Unidentified; chaparral is a generalized word for underbrush or low growth, not a specific shrub.

[887] For complete process of manufacture, see Wukchumni account herein or a previous publication, Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 M529 Yokuts M529

[P. 166 b] Kechayi

After the birth occurred, the
846 mother drank only warm acorn soup (li´mɨn) for six days or until the umbilical stump fell off. After that she ate only soups and seed food (lu´kɨn) for two months.

[843] The father was not under any tabus during pregnancy, E.M. believes, but after the birth he ate nothing hard or greasy until the stump came off. He also did no hard work for one moon [month].

[841 343] There was no separate hut for birth or menses.

At the time of birth a girl's own mother
844 or elder sister helped her. She lay on her back during labor (E.M. was uncertain on this point). A bear claw was soaked in water and
[237] the liquid was drunk to make hard labor easier.
[616] A woman of either moiety could use this. The umbilicus was cut with a sharp bone or clam-
[823] shell; flint was tabu, and E.M. never saw a cane knife used. The afterbirth was buried in the ground. The mother lay on the hot bed of ashes only if she were very ill or her back ached.

854 When the baby was born its paternal grand-
[603] father brought the first cradle (bi´ɨč), which had been made by a paternal aunt. This cradle was of soft willows and had a hoop awning.[65] The baby remained on this for two months, at
● [553] the end of which time it was named, removed to its permanent cradle (ah:´lɨč), and the mother was cleansed.

When the navel stump fell off it was put
846 in a piece of buckskin and hung with a few strands of beads to the cradle hood for the baby to play with. If the stump were lost, the child would be subject to nausea. When the child left the cradle, the stump was removed
[856 789] from it; for a boy it was placed in an oak tree so he would become a good climber, but for a girl it was put in an anthill to make her industrious.

854 At the end of two months the baby was put
553 on its second cradle, and received a name selected by its paternal grandfather or grandmother. For a boy, the paternal grandfather's name was chosen, for a girl, her oldest paternal aunt's.[66] At the same time a "party" was given for the mother by these paternal relatives -- her husband's family. She was washed, dressed in new clothes, and partook of meat again.

844 The food and working tabus for both
846 parents were observed only for the first child. But the use of the cradles, preservation of the navel stump, and the naming "party" were carried out for all offspring.

845 Twins were thought by some to be a misfortune. This was because of the belief that they were difficult to raise. Before visitors

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[65] The hoop awning, E.M. explained, is useful only when the infant is supine; cradles of small babies were not stood upright.

[66] A rule more of theory than of practice, as the genealogies indicate. The important point is the emphasis on the male line.

[611]

[P. 192b] Chuckchansi

847
278 medicine. A shaman's help was never sought for abortion.

844 Some women had a child every year. Of
163 twelve or thirteen births only "one, maybe six,
165 maybe nine" would live to become adults. Some died in infancy, a disaster blamed on evil shamans.

842 There were few cases of sterility: "most people who married had children; some didn't."

844 Birth took place in the dwelling, not in a special structure, said N.W. Normally, the woman's mother and sister or an aunt helped her; her mother-in-law might also do so. No men nor childless women were allowed in a house where a birth was taking place. [The birth procedure was not described.]

845
278 If parturition was difficult, scrapings from a bear's claw were put in water for the
237 woman to drink, and the decoction was also rubbed on her head and hands. N.W. said this was "better than a doctor." It was a common practice; the scrapings might be got at any time from someone who had killed a bear and would then be kept on hand for use as needed. J.R. said that when a bear was killed some man, not a shaman, would get a claw. He would keep it, hang it up to dry, until it was needed to help some woman in childbirth. If labor was unduly delayed, the claw would be got, scraped into a basket of water. The parturient drank this decoction, and immediately the baby came. It was thought that the bear-claw drink so frightened the infant that it came out at once. This medicine was never used for any other purpose.

Another method to help difficult labor was to hold scorched whippoorwill feathers (wul'wul, whippoorwill) under the woman's nose.[119]

844
278 The baby was bathed at once in wormwood water. The first cradle was not ready, but was started as soon as the paternal grandmother got the baby's size. The cradle-making took about three days. The umbilical cord was buried.[120]

842
163 Naming.--"It was one year or so, sometimes longer, before a young couple had their first baby. There were more children then [in old times] than now," said N.W. Neither sex was preferred.

553
852 The infant was named shortly after birth, according to N.W., and kept that name throughout life. The paternal grandmother usually selected the name, which would be one from the father's side of the family. If the person for

[824]

[119]The bird, later identified as whippoorwill, was described as follows. "It is a brown bird a little smaller than a pigeon, but with a big mouth. The color is like dirt; you don't see it. It swallowed a deer once. It is speckled white, just a little. It has short legs. When it flies it makes a noise like wal-will (ɹ ɹ ɹ). It doesn't make a whirring noise with its wings when it starts to fly but is silent like other birds. It flies in the evening, not much in the day. It has black legs and beak. It stands 5 inches or so tall."

[120]Kroeber, Handbook, 499.

1: Gayton E-8 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokum N529
EP. 193 9] Chuckchansi

553 852 whom the baby was named was dead -- and names of dead relatives were often given -- a large feast was supplied by the paternal family. When the name was announced, everyone present cried; then they feasted and rejoiced. If the mother had died in childbirth, the grandmother might name the baby, if a girl, for her; everyone would cry at this. If the person whose name was chosen was alive, no feast was held, nor, of course, was there weeping.

553 Children were named [by whom?] at about the age of one year, said J.R. The name endured for life. Sometimes an aunt or another relative would bestow her own name on the infant. In such circumstances the name was not tabu after the death of this relative; normally the name of a dead person was not mentioned. Also, usually, names were individual, so the name tabu caused no awkwardness.

551 177 A certain woman was nicknamed "skunk" because she quarrelled all the time. The name had no totemic or dream reference. [Is this use of "skunk" possibly white?]

846 852 783 Mother's cleansing ceremony.--About one month after the birth of the first child (but not after subsequent births) a celebration was held for the mother by both parental families, said N.W. A special three-pole structure had been built and covered with blankets (sic; mats?) within which the woman's mother-in-law made a round hole about two feet deep and the same in diameter. Hot rocks, about three, were put in the bottom and over this a filling of wormwood. Then the young mother was placed on this to "steam"; the steam filled the little hut "and made the woman well." Inside with her were her mother and her sister or, if these were lacking, an aunt or cousin: whoever was the girl's closest female relative. The girl's mother was continuously cooking acorn meal. The other woman assisted the young mother. They all remained in there about an hour.

Outside the shelter relatives and friends were assembling. Two fires were lighted, at

431 846 852 783 which the paternal and maternal families were preparing food for feasting. Gifts of food, baskets, and other treasures had been assembled by both parties. The girl's mother, relatives, and friends "covered the tent (shelter) with cooking baskets (soyun) and blankets for the husband's mother." Her father called the husband's parents to come get those things. After taking off these objects, the husband's mother replaced them with washing baskets, blankets, money, meat (one sack of dried rabbit). Then the wife's father took these things away.

846 852 783 When he returned, he got his daughter who was still within the shelter, picked her up and set her on her feet. A large washing basket ('tewis) full of boiled wormwood liquid was brought, and with a smaller basket (k'olis 'tewis) the husband's mother poured the liquid over her daughter-in-law to cleanse her: "so she wouldn't be ashamed, bashful." Other

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 2349] Western Mono NS25

W Y 846 meat tabu would either grow very fat or become emaciated (D.). Eating meat made the woman sick, "her insides weren't clean" (S.O.).

The mother could not scratch herself during the six-day period.

The tabu period was strictly enforced for the first child, but was lightened progressively with later offspring. Thus, according to S.O., the tabu period on meat was three months for the first child, two months for the second, three weeks or one month for the third. Thereafter it was a matter of choice with the mother, but rarely was the tabu abandoned entirely. Usually no meat was eaten by the mother until the infant's navel stump came off. Even under modern conditions a mother refuses meat from two to five days after her delivery.

W Y ● 553 852 [551] The naming of the child took place about twelve days after its birth. Until that time, and often for a month or two after, it was called a'ktač (S.O.); called we'č·p if a boy, and wi't·p if a girl (D.). Personal names were used in direct address from two months on through life (S.O.). Normally the name was bestowed by the paternal grandfather or some influential person on the father's side (D.); by the paternal uncle, grandmother, or great aunt (S.O.). "The mother's family had nothing to say" (S.O.). The name was often that of the paternal grandfather, paternal uncle, or aunt. D. insisted that only one name was given and that no other was used after the death of the elder namesake, but this did not hold true for the Waksachi, as the Western Mono frequently have two names at least.

The naming ceremony was called duni'ša, the general word for ceremonies; the ceremony was the same for a male and female infant. The grandfather, within the house and with the parents and parents-in-law present, announced the name. Outside the house the grandfather had a dancer who sang and danced (D. could not say what about). The step was the piston-rod movement with the right fist placed under the left elbow and vice versa, alternating with each step (fig. 8, a, Pt. I.). Everyone came to watch. A Wobonuch named Paila'la, who lived at Sohonto (Ko'onikwe) was noted for dancing on these occasions. His activities were the same for a boy or girl baby. D. was uncertain whether or not the baby was moved into the twined willow cradle with fan-shaped hood at this time; S.O. said it was, but probably this was done at the mother's ritual.

W Y 846 783 The mother's cleansing ritual (epla'ho' unu'malo", washing daughter-in-law) took place the third moon after her delivery. On the morning of the day set, the mother-in-law (and sometimes her sisters)[172] came to the mother with a washing basket, a set of new clothes, and a quantity of meat. They washed her, put

[172] The infant's paternal grandmother and aunts, as it were.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

THE NAMING OF INDIANS

551 The giving of names among the Indians was often a most interesting practice. Among some tribes it was customary, after the child was born, to give it the name of the first object seen from the doorway of the house. In some instances we are told that the name was predetermined by presenting a desirable object in front of the door, so that it would be certain to be the first object seen. This name was intended to be temporary, and was later discarded.

Some children grew to be three or more years of age before they were given a permanent name. When the child was old enough to exhibit some characteristic, or perform some deed, it was remaned.

I knew two *Wukchumne* brothers who, when small, were named the Indian equivalents of Sunny Place and Dirty Face. The first was so named because he would leave the other children, who were playing in the shade, and go to a sunny place where he would play by himself. The derivation of the other name is obvious.

Renaming was in some instances done several times. An [553] Indian was likely to be renamed whenever he performd some act which took the fancy of his associates. It was more often done when the child was taken into the tribe, at which time a more or less permanent name was given him.

To my knowledge, only two Yokuts families have preserved Indian surnames, the Ichows and the Pohuts. Pohut is Yokuts for squirrel. Ichow is a name given by Sierra tribes to turtle. *Tawpnaw* attempted to preserve his name, but it was changed to Tupino by white associates.

551 The dead were very much respected by the Indians. They
775 believed in a surviving spirit and were very careful after death to avoid provoking or disturbing that spirit. As a result of this, until after the *Lonewis*, care was taken that the name of the deceased was not spoken. It was feared that the spirit would be awakened. Probably in most cases it was feared that the spirit would answer to the name. The Indian did not want spirits prowling about any more than we do. In some tribes it was customary after death to change the name of the deceased. In this way any chance of disturbing the spirit was avoided.

This is not an extinct taboo. While completing this manuscript I learned that I had neglected to obtain the Indian name of Doctor Bob, an aged *Chukaimina*, who died in Squaw Valley

15: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906) 1906
NS29 Yokuts NS29

only by the surrender of arms. An armful of old guns was thereupon gathered and given to the Indians, who departed with apparent satisfaction.

G. A. Chambers, Montagua.

Through Rev. W. A. Brewer, San Mateo.

YOKUTS NAMES

In aboriginal California, as everywhere farther north on the Pacific coast and among the tribes of many other regions of America, the custom of not mentioning under any circumstances the name of a dead person was very deep-seated. Among the southern Yokuts of the upper end of the San Joaquin valley, to-day represented principally by the survivors of the Yaudanchi and Yauelmani tribes on Tule River Reservation, this feeling led to a peculiar development. Every person ordinarily had two names. Only one of these might be in ordinary use. The second, however, was employed as a reserve in case the death of a namesake, in the same or a neighboring tribe, tabooed the first. Children are said to have received their two names at the same time. New names were not usual, children being named generally after a dead grandfather, uncle, or other relative. Sometimes the names of living relatives were also used. This is proved by the case of a woman, alive a few years ago, who had lost both her names because her brother's daughters had died. A person who had thus lost both his names through the death of others was called "no name," kamun hoyowoc. In default of a name, such a person would, if necessary, be addressed by this term "no name." A namesake was called simply "my name," and this term also would be used in address. Of a person who had lost one of his names through the death of another it would be said: tawitji an yet hoyowosh, "died his one name." Men's and women's names were distinct. Many names had no known significance, but others denoted animals, objects, actions, sounds, or tribes. A list of men's and women's names from Tule River follows: —

Men:

Tanka, buzzard; second name, K'aushash, cracking or tapping.

Djichpu; second name, Sokhusha. The latter is also the name of a man living in one of the tribes north of Tule River.

Bikh, denoting an action peculiar to a dog; second name, Saunama.

Putut, make fire; second name, Koku.

Seli, see, from sil; second name, Dumash.

Kukuya, the cry of the mountain quail.

Djemshak.

Tukchuchu.